1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man failing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand (anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind him unnecessary.

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerogative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the following manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs, the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

themselves, ever willing to fall into measures 643
that greatly promote their interest, notwith- 208
standing a few religious scruples, very soon
came to be of the same opinion too.

As soon as Finow had come to this deter- 628
mination, A and to that of shutting up all communi- 486
cation with the Hapai people, it became neces- 634
sary to acquaint Tongamana, at his next arrival,
with this new regulation, and to forbid him ever
to return to Vavaoo again. In the mean time, 634
however, as Finow had promised Tooi Bolotoo 486
that his daughter (Mr. Mariner's adopted mo- 661
ther) should be allowed to proceed to him at 357
the Hapais, she was ordered to get herself and
attendants ready to accompany Tongamana on
his way back. Now it happened this person had
a great number of female attendants, many of
whom were some of the handsomest women at
Vavaoo; and, as the leave granted to her to de-
part was equally a licence for the departure of
her attendants, Finow became apprehensive
that the alienation of so many fine women from
the country would occasion considerable dis-
content among his young men, and would per-
haps tempt some of them to take the same step.
He sent, however, for Máfi Hábe, and told her,
that, with her leave, he would contrive some
means to keep back her women, whose depar-
ture might occasion so much disturbance: in

A [to have no more Tui Tongas--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

this intention she perfectly coincided, as she should have little use for them hereafter, in the retired life she meant to lead with her father, —two favourite attendants, however, excepted, whom she begged to take with her. Matters being so far agreed on, Finow, to avoid the appearance of injustice on his part, gave Mr. Mariner instructions how to act, with a view to bring about his object, as if it were a thought and impulse of his own. Accordingly, when Tongamana's canoe was ready to depart, and every one in it, save Máfi Hábe and her attendants, she was carried on board, and her two favourite attendants immediately followed: at this moment, when the rest of the women were about to proceed into the canoe, Mr. Mariner, who had purposely stationed himself close at hand with his musket, seized hold of the foremost, and threw her into the water, and forbad the rest to follow, at the peril of being shot. He then called out to Finow's attendants, who were purposely seated on the beach, to come to his assistance, pretending to express his wonder at their folly, in permitting those women to leave them, for whose protection they had often hazarded their lives in battle: upon this (as had been previously concerted) they ran forward, and effectually prevented any of them from departing. At this moment, while their lamenta-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tions rent the air, Finow came down to the beach; and enquiring the cause of this disturbance, they told him that Togi (Mr. Mariner) had used violent measures to prevent their accompanying their beloved mistress, and that the young chiefs had cruelly assisted him. One of these chiefs (Talo) then addressed Finow:—

"We have all agreed to lose our lives rather "than suffer these women, for whom we have "so often fought, to take leave of us for ever. "It is probable that we shall soon be invaded "by the people of Hapai: and are we to suffer "some of the finest of our women to go over to "the men who will shortly become our enemies? "Those women, the sight and recollection of "whom have so often cheered our hearts in the "time of danger, and enabled us to meet the "bravest and fiercest enemies, and to put them "to the rout? If our women are to be sent "away, in the name of the gods, send away "also the guns, the powder, and all our spears, "our clubs, our bows and arrows, and every "weapon of defence: with the departure of the "women our wish to live departs also, for then "we shall have nothing left worth protecting, "and, having no motive to defend ourselves, it "matters little how we die."

Finow upon this was obliged to explain to Tongamana the necessity of yielding to the sen-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

timents of these young chiefs, to prevent the discontent and disturbance which might otherwise take place. The canoe was now ordered to leave Vavaoo for the last time, and never more to return, for if she or any other canoe should again make her appearance from Hapai, her approach would be considered hostile, and proper measures would accordingly be adopted. At this moment, the women on the beach earnestly petitioned Finow to be allowed to take a last farewell of their dear and beloved mistress, which on being agreed to, nearly two hours were taken up in this affecting scene.

From this time Finow devoted his attention to the cultivation of the island; and the exertions of this truly patriotic chief were so far successful that the country soon began to promise the appearance of a far more beautiful and cultivated state than ever: nor did he in the mean time neglect those things which were necessary for the better defence of the place, and accordingly the fortress underwent frequent examination and improvements.

In the midst of these occupations, however, a circumstance happened which might have been the cause of much civil disturbance. It is well worth relating, as it affords an admirable character of one of the personages concerned, and shews a principle of honour and generosity of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

what the superior; he sees to the supplying of provisions, takes care of the store-house, looks to the thatching and fences of the dwelling-house, occasionally gives an eye to the plantation, and sometimes works upon it himself. The head cook is generally not a little proud of himself, and is looked on with some respect by the cooks below him and the common peasants.

The term cook is frequently applied to a man though he be not a cook, to signify that he is of very low rank: for although a cook belonging to a chief may give himself many airs, and be thought something of by the common tooas about him; yet if there be a company of peasants together, he that has the least to boast of in respect of family connexions is sure to be made the cook, and as it were servant to the rest.

The following then will be the order in which the different professions will stand as to the respect they may command in society:—all individuals are not, however, esteemed according to their profession, but according to their abilities in it; for a clever man in one art will be sometimes more esteemed than a man of moderate abilities in a higher. In this arrangement the cooks are placed before the peasants, because the cooks of chiefs generally have to overlook them.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

must on the one hand render his attentions flattering to the women, whilst on the other it may be supposed to excite a little apprehension of the consequences of a refusal. A fourth instance may perhaps be added, on the part of the late king, with respect to Foonagi, the wife of Tymomangnoongoo, but this is only upon suspicion. Several other instances no doubt there were, at different islands; but as so few were known to him, who had better opportunities of information than any native, we may presume that infidelity on the part of the women is a very unfrequent occurrence; and where it does happen, it must be with the connivance of their female attendants and servants, who are always with them, and attend them abroad, not as spies over their conduct, but as companions, it not being thought decorous, particularly for the wife of a chief, to walk out by herself: the wives of matabooles and mooas may walk out in the neighbourhood without attendants, but never to any distance. These are, therefore, great restrictions upon the conduct of married women; but there is one still greater, viz. the fear of discovery, which must operate very strongly on the part of the wives of great chiefs, in whom an act of infidelity might occasion her husband to prevent a repetition by killing her: and as to the wives of persons of lesser

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner entreated him to accept of something. Being thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *giē fow* *, and this was the only article that the eloquence and kindness of Finow could persuade him to accept of. The king left him with sentiments of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the orders that had been formerly given to prevent any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day it is usual to have another meal, when the chiefs receive a number of presents, of different kinds of provisions, from their dependents or friends, which the matabooles share out. In the afternoon some again join in conversation, others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is often continued till very late at night, on which occasion they burn torches, each being held by a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. These dances are generally kept up for about four hours after dark. When no dances are

* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

proposed, they retire to rest at sun-set, after bathing and oiling themselves, and even on these occasions the houses are lighted up with torches, during two, three, or four hours after dark: these torches are held by female domestics. It cannot be strictly said that they have any fixed times for meals, though it generally happens to be in the morning, about noon, and again in the evening; but it depends greatly upon how the chiefs are occupied, or what presents have been made to them: it frequently occurs that several presents come at the same time from different quarters; then they have a feast: but whatever they have, whether much or little, it is always shared out to all present, each having a portion according to his rank: strangers and females generally obtain somewhat more than is due to their rank. Those who get more than they want never fail to supply others who have not enough: selfishness is a very rare quality among them: if a man has a piece of yam, though it be not enough for a meal, he will readily give half away to any one who may want it; and if any body else comes afterwards in like need, with the greatest good nature he will give half the remainder; scarcely saving himself any, though he may be very hungry.

If during the day a chief, mataboole, or mooa, but particularly a chief, finds himself fa-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the side of her husband. She then took leave of them. I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four attendants remained with her[1] till the canoe was rowing off. They had been with her from her birth till this moment; when they resigned their charge to four others, who were to be the same guardians of her fidelity as the former had been of her virginity. It is the custom through life, thus carefully to keep the daughters of the principal chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one or two of these attendants, night and day. The young women indeed pride themselves much upon their virginity, which they call taihenee: and as the token and ornament of that state, their hair is suffered to remain uncut till their marriage. Whether this distinction which is here properly considered the virgin's "glory," is then laid aside, because her honor then becomes inseparable from that of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that they have only one word to express both husband and wife, viz. "Oanna," as though the union was so intimate that even language could not refer to the one without including the other.

As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he provides a similar guard to preserve her so. For, unchastity is considered of so little account at Tonga,

1 [i.e. the bride of the Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

laying it endways to the door so that its entire length could be seen from within, retired. Then Fatafehi and I came forward. As soon as the king saw us he rose from his seat to fetch a chair for me from several that were set round the table in readiness for the Council. He was dressed in European clothes of rusty black cloth, and appeared to have been waiting for us for some time. The house was divided into three by reed partitions, and very meanly furnished: a green iron bedstead in the inner room covered with mats was the only bedroom furniture, and besides the table and office chairs in the middle room, there was only a shelf of the commonest crockery. The outer room was occupied by his servants, who, I believe, were prisoners. It was characteristic of the king that while he had a well-found house in Nukualofa, he lived from choice on the barest necessaries, and spent a large portion of his income on building churches.

King George Tukou.

After we had shaken hands, Fatafehi announced in a stentorian voice that I had brought a little sandal-wood